FREEDOM

MARCH 23 1963 Vol 24 No 10

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

'Many ways of thought in the law are restrictive, secretive, and hamper efforts to preserve the true public interest . . . '

'THE TIMES'—18/3/63

In this Issue:

WAY OUT OF THIS WORLD

'FREEDOM' AND VIOLENCE

THE GREATER THE TRUTH

Freedom from Hunger

means increased food production more than money

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A glaring example of this treatment appeared in Monday's *Daily Herald*. An item headed "Street where they locked out mercy" tells of a coloured American airman stationed in this country who after being stabbed three times, managed to stagger along a city street to a shop fifty yards away to ask for help. The shop assistant is quoted as saying, "We saw him coming and locked the door, but he somehow forced it open. Blood was pouring from him and he asked for help. late. I didn't want him bleeding all over my floor. I shouted at him to clear off. I suppose I could have used my telephone to call an ambulance, but I didn't think of it at the time. I was more concerned with keeping the man out of my shop. Several other people in the street locked their doors when they saw the man coming.

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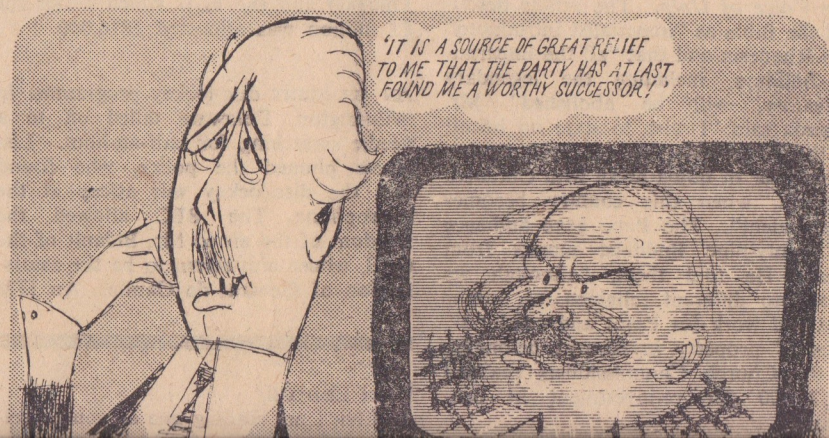

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The unprecedented growth of communications during the past thirty years for better or for worse, has faced mankind with problems of a moral and social order transcending those of family, community or nation. The "bugger-you-Jack" attitude which defeatists use to feed their pessimism is surely more than offset by innumerable examples of mutual aid, and solidarity and sacrifice, which are an important part of the real world around us, which we can observe for ourselves, even if we cannot read about it in the organs of mass-communications which for obvious reasons concern themselves above all with emphasising Man's inhumanity to Man.

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I tried to lock the door, but I was too late. I didn't want him bleeding all over my floor. I shouted at him to clear off. I suppose I could have used my telephone to call an ambulance, but I didn't think of it at the time. I was more concerned with keeping the man out of my shop. Several other people in the street locked their doors when they saw the man coming.

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No-one, not even a Negro, would be executed at that age.

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Cobb's execution date was fixed as September 22, 1961.

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THE 500 men and women at Dunlops in Coventry, who have been on strike for the last two weeks, have voted to return to work on Monday. They stopped work immediately, when two of their shop stewards were dismissed for alleged industrial misconduct. (They entered the factory, while doing picket duty during an earlier strike, to see if anyone was working and were, therefore, in the eyes of the employers, trespassing).

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Legally Georgia can execute children of 10. But some deference, of course, had to be paid to world opinion.

Cobb is now 17. The clamour to save him has subsided. A new execution date may be fixed next Friday.

To Georgia, this will just be the execution of another 17-year-old—somewhat different, perhaps, because of the two-year wait, but with nothing else to merit attention.

Cobb was convicted of shooting and killing his white employer, Frank Dumas, 70, a farmer.

His trial was before an all-white jury and lasted less than a day. His lawyer, appointed by the court, made no mention of a quarrel a short time before the murder in which Dumas threatened to blow out the boy's brains.

The jury were out 45 minutes. The verdict: Guilty without recommendation for mercy.

Cobb's execution date was fixed as September 22, 1961.

The thought of it horrified the country, and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People hired Donald Hollowell, foremost Negro lawyer in the State, to obtain a new trial if possible or commutation of sentence to life imprisonment.

At the same time the State Legislature, under criticism for countenancing execution of children, set about to change the law.

Nobody can remember when anyone younger than 15 was executed. But the opinion was unanimous that the minimum age must be raised.

How far? The Senate say 18, the House 16.

They are likely to compromise at 17.

The new law will not be retroactive. It will not save Cobb.

He sits in a fifth-floor cell, 25ft. from the death chamber. Every time his door opens, he can see the gruesome chair.

He has watched several prisoners walk by to be executed. They have called to him to keep cheerful.

He tries to, but whenever a new execution date approaches, his face shows beads of perspiration and his hands grow clammy.

He was four days from execution a fortnight ago when his lawyer filed for a writ of *habeas corpus*. It is certain to be denied this week.

Cobb has become the forgotten boy. His only visitors are clergymen. His mother can no longer afford a trip of 200 miles to see him.

He sits reading the Bible. And he prays.

It is difficult to see what legal expedient remains for his lawyer. The United States Supreme Court has refused to intervene.

And in Georgia, the attitude is: "Why the fuss? Haven't we kept our word?"

New York Letter by John Sampson.
Daily Herald, Mar 12.

ANARCHY 25

IS ON

Science and Technology

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

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The strikers have shown fine solidarity in their support for their victimised stewards. Unlike their union leaders, there was no delay in their action, for it took the leaders 12 days to make up their minds and give the strike official recognition.

The two unions involved, the Transport & General Workers and the Amalgamated Engineering Union immediately made a joint request to the Engineering Employers' Federation for a meeting at national level to settle the dispute. The employers "expressed regret" that the unions had made the strike official and because, according to them, the strike was unconstitutional, the unions were breaking the engineering industry's joint procedure agreement. Anyway, even with these regrets and breaches of agreement, it hasn't taken long for the employers and unions to get together to work out a settlement.

When the 500 men and women return to work on Monday, a works conference immediately opens to discuss the reinstatement of the two shop stewards. It seems highly probable that they will be re-instated.

Although the union leaders were slow in making this strike official, the fact that they recognised it is the exception rather than the rule. All the unofficial striker usually hears from his union is the familiar formula or "return to work" and then, and only then, do the long negotiations commence.

One of the reasons why that has not happened this time, is because the two unions involved have recently been organising a drive to increase union

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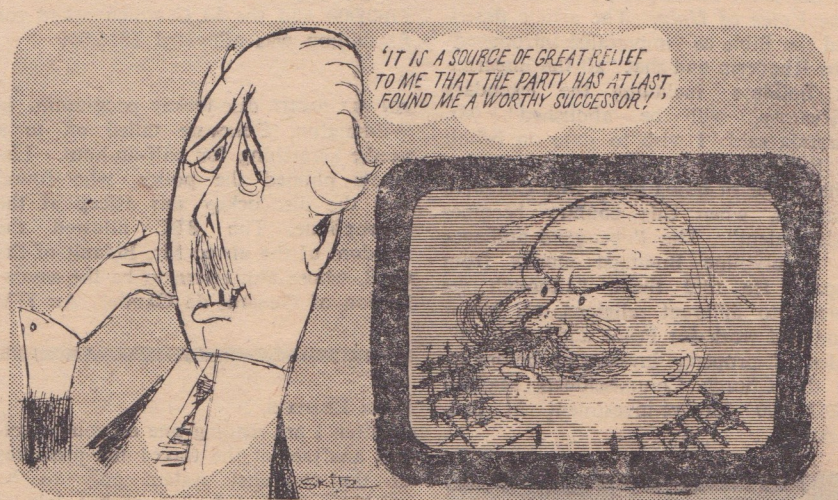

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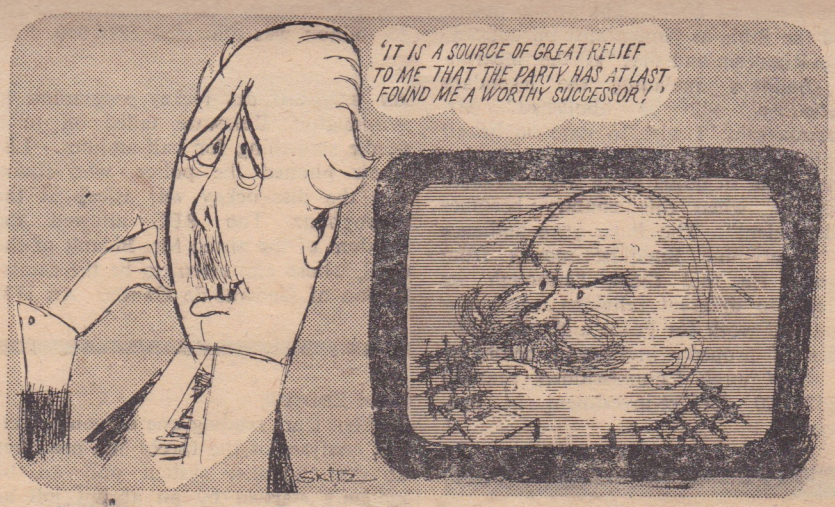

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One of the reasons why that has not happened this time, is because the two unions involved have recently been organising a drive to increase union membership at Dunlops. At the same time there is strong rivalry in the area between the T.G.W.U. and the A.E.U., and so they have both had to put on a show of militancy for their new members. This, of course, will also help further recruitment, as this example can be used by the organisers to show how the union backs the rank and file when they take direct action.

No doubt the union leaders were a little surprised at the militancy of these recently organised workers. Union membership has, at least, brought this militancy to the surface, even though these unions have no revolutionary aims or even any real rank and file control. Some organisation is achieved with which to fight the injustices of the employers.

This appears to be what has happened at Dunlops. With this new basis of organisation, these 500 workers felt strong and confident in themselves to take strike action and show solidarity with their sacked fellow-workers.

This victimisation has not been the only trouble. The workers have complained of the rigorous discipline and harsh methods which are being used by foremen to get increased production. One foreman is said to have approached a 17-year-old girl and threatened that he would "breathe down her —— neck all day" to make her work harder. In another case, a girl who was lifting 13 lb. components off a conveyor belt, was told that her rate of working, 120-130 per hour was far too slow and should be increased to about 200 per hour. Girls have been picked on and pushed around in this manner until they have broken down in tears.

This bullying and continual chasing for increased production is very prevalent at Dunlops. The components they make are in high demand at the B.M.C. factories, where, also, increased production is the altar on which human dignity has been sacrificed.

A union official has said, "We think the capacity of the factory is not big enough for the demands being made upon it, and that the attitude of the supervisors is not one to increase output. The workers must have proper and human treatment."

It appears that the management, with the aid of supervisors, makes certain that everyone is working to capacity. The attitude these supervisors take is immaterial, for the fact still remains that men and women have to work harder in order to achieve this increase in output. How can one expect humane treatment when the methods of production are already inhuman.

These complaints have been put to an executive of Dunlops, who backed up his foreman and refused to look into individual cases. "I have been here a long time and I am quite satisfied that the supervisors would not do these sort of things," was his answer. Not much likelihood of any humane treatment from that quarter!

The only thing the employers seem to understand is force, and so this is the only way for the workers to win their demands. What is at stake here, is the victimisation of two workers. By taking direct action, they have defeated the victimisation by the management. At the same time, they have shown, that by their solidarity and relying on their own efforts, they can win demands.

With this ever-increasing demand for more output and the further rationalisation of production to achieve it, the management will try to force even more inhuman conditions on the workers. These attempts must be defeated and it is only by the efforts of the rank and file that this can be accomplished.

P.T.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

A JESUIT PRIEST at an 'Amnesty service to commemorate civil liberty persecutions, quoted Bishop Latymer's saying to Ridley (not F.R.): "The candle that is lit now will light a fire that will never go out. (Latymer and Ridley were burned at the stake during Mary-the-Catholic's-reign. Krushchev's son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubel met the Pope. Mr. Adzhubel who is a "confirmed atheist" said, "We need a new faith; a faith which we can defend together." The Pope revealed that he himself was once suspected of holding heretical views and placed under observation by the Holy Office, heirs to the Inquisition. An ex-friend was de-frocked and excommunicated for calling for a radical reform of Roman Catholic doctrine. The Pope was under surveillance for some time after the incident. The Spanish Government lifted a seven-year ban on the activities of the British and Foreign Bible Society and has given the Society legal status to avoid future incidents. Prospects of a merger (or take-over bid?) between the Methodists and the Church of England were improved, setting in jeopardy John Wesley's saying, "Men may call me a knave or fool, a rascal, a scoundred, and I am content. But they shall never by my consent call me a Bishop." The Holy See absolved ex-President Peron of Argentina from excommunication. He had in 1955 "trampled" on the rights of the church by expelling two prelates. Three months months later he was overthrown and now lives in exile in Madrid. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda apologised for an attack on the Bible in his party's official magazine *Voice of Unip*. The article described the Bible as "imperialist introduced" into Rhodesia and that "all the imperialist holidays, including the legendary Christmas, will be abolished". Mr. Kaunda said "I wish to state on behalf of the party that there is no intention whatsoever of doing away with Christian holidays, when this country becomes independent". The Pope gave audience to twenty-nine Buddhist monks from Japan. He told them, "although we belong to different religions, we honor God and work for Peace and mankind". Sales of property investment belonging to the Church Commissioners realized £4,670,000 for re-investment in property. . . .

THE SUPERINTENDENT physiotherapist at a Glasgow group of three hospitals has taken a better-paid job as a football-traner. According io the Society of Authors most professional authors earn less from their writing than the national average wage of £15 a week. Royalty rates are declining, commercial circulating libraries are gradually disappearing and the paperback boom tends to "bypass the young writer with talent who has not yet scored a hit; the middle-aged writer whose hits were scored the day before yesterday . . . and the older writers undeservedly forgotten". The school building programme for Wiltshire has been cut from £1,680,000 to £35,000; for Cornwall from £754,000 to nothing; Devon from £902,000 to £63,000; Plymouth from £327,000 to nothing; Somerset £969,000 to £204,000; Bath £258,000 to nothing; Middlesex £4,140,000 to £760,000 and the LCC which asked for £3 million was allocated £816,000. . . .

AN ALL-NIGHT disc-jockey programme in Wilmington, Delaware tailed off to a needle scratching for half-an-hour. Listeners phoned the police, who found that the disc-jockey was asleep at the microphone. The BBC allowed the freedom of the air to Mr. Bidault of the OAS, whose aim seems to be the assassination of General de Gaulle. An ITV programme *World in Action* which seemed to depart from political impartiality in its retelling of the sorry tale of defence spending over the last 15 years, was banned by the Independent Television Authority and part of it was shown by the BBC, which is not committed to impartiality under the Television Act. The French Government banned, and later released, a television feature on the Near East. The Lord Chamberlain refused to allow a sketch (formerly shown on *That Was the Week, That Was*) to be performed on the stage, showing a BBC commentator commenting on the Queen's barge sinking. . . .

THE ROYAL progress around Australia continued with slight acknowledgments that something has gone wrong. A toastmaster at a banquet had to roar "Shut up!" to pray silence for Her Majesty. The usual quota of children collapsed from heat exhaustion while waiting for the Queen. In Adelaide one of the songs the children sang was "I love a sunburned country". An evening paper reported to its loyal readers in headlines: "The Queen has Traces of Sunburn". In Ballarat the Methodists regretted a children's trip to Melbourne on Sunday to see the Queen since Sunday is a day of worship and rest. The Prince remarked: "I am not Greek, but I was born in Greece," the Greek newspapers took a dim view of this. The Prince is on record as having said, "I wouldn't describe myself as a glutton for work of any kind," but the Royal contribution to productivity year is the initiation of a work-study programme at Buckingham palace. Inhabitants of Newington Lodge will be relieved to know that Tony and Margaret have moved into their new home (improved at a cost of £65,000) after the unfortunate fire which caused £15,000 damage. Prince William of Gloucester failed his examination which would qualify him for the Civil Service. A new grammar text-book inadvertently incorporated a grammatical error by Prince Philip, fortunately this was spotted by the printer and was withdra
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BOOKS ?

We can supply

ANY book in print.
Also out-of-print books searched for —and frequently found! This includes paper-backs, children's books and text books. (Please supply publisher's name if possible).

SECOND-HAND BOOKS
(mostly pocket)

The U.S.S.R. Our Ally (1941) D. N. Pritt 2/6
Political Thought in England— Spencer to the Present Day Ernest Barker 3/-
Gods and Men W. J. Perry 3/-

'FREEDOM' & VIOLE

DEAR EDITORS,

Often I am reading one of your excellent analyses of the forces and pressures of the capitalist system only to be suddenly startled by an abrupt jolt as the writer rushes to the defence of violence. A month or so ago I read that anarchists had no intention of using violence, unless their opponents used it first—cf. prime minister Macmillan, president Kennedy and all the others who throughout history have fought or been prepared to fight "defensive wars", and remember their beautiful epitaph in the remark Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" made just as he was about to be assassinated: "Caesar doth not wrong, but with just cause . . . " (My authority for attributing this remark to Shapespeare's Caesar is Ben Jonson, who cited it as an example of his friend's lapes into nonsense—and perhaps in deference to his opinion the editors of the First Folio edition altered the sentence). And the editorial writer of February 23rd is at it again: "

that an anarchist society can be brought about by force. On the other hand very few anarchists have, to our knowledge, suggested that existing society based on profit, privilege and authority, could be persuaded by love and sweet reason to allow others to experiment on an equal footing with methods based on freedom and co-operation, between producers and consumers. We cannot see why the privileged minority should! And they don't! It's surely only a small minority of politically woolly-headed, *soi-disant* "catholic-anarchists" and "pacifist-anarchists" who could sherish such illusions.

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zine *Voice of Unip*. The article described the Bible as "imperialist introduced" into Rhodesia and that "all the imperialist holidays, including the legendary Christmas, will be abolished". Mr. Kaunda said "I wish to state on behalf of the party that there is no intention whatsoever of doing away with Christian holidays, when this country becomes independent". The Pope gave audience to twenty-nine Buddhist monks from Japan. He told them, "although we belong to different religions, we honor God and work for Peace and mankind". Sales of property investment belonging to the Church Commissioners realized £4,670,000 for re-investment in property. . . .

£760,000 and the LCC which asked for £3 million was allocated £816,000. . . .

AN ALL-NIGHT disc-jockey programme in Wilmington, Delaware tailed off to a needle scratching for half-an-hour. Listeners phoned the police, who found that the disc-jockey was asleep at the microphone. The BBC allowed the freedom of the air to Mr. Bidault of the OAS, whose aim seems to be the assassination of General de Gaulle. An ITV

at Buckingham palace. Inhabitants of Newington Lodge will be relieved to know that Tony and Margaret have moved into their new home (improved at a cost of £65,000) after the unfortunate fire which caused £15,000 damage. Prince William of Gloucester failed his examination which would qualify him for the Civil Service. A new grammar text-book inadvertently incorporated a grammatical error by Prince Philip, fortunately this was spotted by the printer

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Often I am reading one of your excellent analyses of the forces and pressures of the capitalist system only to be suddenly startled by an abrupt jolt as the writer rushes to the defence of violence. A month or so ago I read that anarchists had no intention of using violence, unless their opponents used it first—cf. prime minister Macmillan, president Kennedy and all the others who throughout history have fought or been prepared to fight "defensive wars", and remember their beautiful epitaph in the remark Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" made just as he was about to be assassinated: "Caesar doth not wrong, but with just cause . . . " (My authority for attributing this remark to Shapespeare's Caesar is Ben Jonson, who cited it as an example of his friend's lapes into nonsense—and perhaps in deference to his opinion the editors of the First Folio edition altered the sentence). And the editorial writer of February 23rd is at it again: " . . . The simple fact is that the employer always thinks of himself as a benefactor and the employee, however servile, feels resentment at having to depend for his existence on the whim of another. In our view there is no way of reconciling these two interests, and if we have an interest it is to widen the gap between the exploiter and exploited, not because we believe in strife *per se*, but because this writer and many anarchists believe that power can only be destroyed by power, and that the anarchist society can only then be established by reason and love . . . " And again this week there is an editorial following a tendency which I find becoming disturbingly prevalent in FREEDOM's columns—that of swiping at the "love-and-reason" pacifists for not striking at the roots of war. (N.B.—I have no quarrel with the editorial writer's admirable suggestions for a "practical experiment at street level" in anarchist propaganda—indeed one of my reasons for being disturbed is that I find much of the foregoing argument irrelevant to his suggestion, as though it expressed a personal feeling and not a necessary consideration of immediate difficulties). From capitalism the writer passes on to the free and the unfree society:

In an unfree society (which is the characteristic of *all* privileged societies, by whatever fancy name their rulers describe them) you achieve nothing unless you are prepared to fight to overthrow the power that oppresses you; not with reason but with power. Pacifists, no less than authoritarians, misunderstand the problem as well as the anarchist position. There can be no *dialogue* between reason and prejudice . . . No anarchist, without ceasing to subscribe to the tenets of anarchism, would, or has suggested that an anarchist society can be brought about by force. On the other hand very few anarchists have, to our knowledge, suggested that existing society based on profit, privilege and authority, could be persuaded by love and sweet reason to allow others to experiment on an equal footing with methods based on freedom and co-operation, between producers and consumers. We cannot see why the privileged minority should! And they don't! It's surely only a small minority of politically woolly-headed, *soi-disant* "catholic-anarchists" and "pacifist-anarchists" who could sherish such illusions.

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programme *World in Action* which seemed to depart from political impartiality in its retelling of the sorry tale of defence spending over the last 15 years, was banned by the Independent Television Authority and part of it was shown by the BBC, which is not committed to impartiality under the Television Act. The French Government banned, and later released, a television feature on the Near East. The Lord Chamberlain refused to allow a sketch (formerly shown on *That Was the Week, That Was*) to be performed on the stage, showing a BBC commentator commenting on the Queen's barge sinking. . . .

THE ROYAL progress around Australia continued with slight acknowledgments that something has gone wrong. A toastmaster at a banquet had to roar "Shut up!" to pray silence for Her Majesty. The usual quota of children collapsed from heat exhaustion while waiting for the Queen. In Adelaide one of the songs the children sang was "I love a sunburned country". An evening paper reported to its loyal readers in headlines: "The Queen has Traces of Sunburn". In Ballarat the Methodists regretted a children's trip to Melbourne on Sunday to see the Queen since Sunday is a day of worship and rest. The Prince remarked: "I am not Greek, but I was born in Greece," the Greek newspapers took a dim view of this. The Prince is on record as having said, "I wouldn't describe myself as a glutton for work of any kind," but the Royal contribution to productivity year is the initiation of a work-study programme at Buckingham palace. Inhabitants of Newington Lodge will be relieved to know that Tony and Margaret have moved into their new home (improved at a cost of £65,000) after the unfortunate fire which caused £15,000 damage. Prince William of Gloucester failed his examination which would qualify him for the Civil Service. A new grammar text-book inadvertently incorporated a grammatical error by Prince Philip, fortunately this was spotted by the printer and was withdrawn. The half-brother of the King of the Belgians was slightly injured in a scuffle between university students and the police. He was pushed to the ground. The Princess Royal, we are told, can't wait to get at her garden at Harewood House. In New York a doll was sold which resembled a member of the Royal Family. Its clothes could be interchanged with those of the Jackie Kennedy doll—which was later withdrawn. The Crown Estate Abstract Accounts showed that Licences for donkey rides and booths on the sands at seaside resorts provided some of the £32,922 revenue going to the Crown. Surplus revenue was £2,190,000. Rents in London were £2,170,584, and agricultural rents were £733,072. . . .

FIFTY MEN, women and children returned to Tristan da Cuhna. The islanders chief said he was not sad to be going. England was all right but it was "Worry, worry, worry, and money, money, money!" He refused to give an interview to the *Observer* until paid.

JON QUIXOTE.

IT CAN BE ENJOYABLE?

"ALL IN GOOD TIME", by Bill Naughton at the Mermaid Theatre.

DESPITE the fact that the *Daily Express* has hailed this as a masterpiece, it really is quite a good play. Even to those anarchists who have seen fit to register their sexual relationships with the State, a couple who have gone through the ordeal of a wedding, complete with weeping Mums and leering Uncles, and have, after six weeks, failed to accomplish even such a relationship as the Law does countenance may seem an anachronism. In fact, it is not surprising: as the bridegroom, Arthur, a shy 'intellectual', points out to his young wife Violet, there were many times during their courtship when he wanted to do what he now seems unable to. But that, she protests, would have been wrong; for it seems that a wedding cake, white carnations and a little man in a dog-collar have transformed a 'sin' into a 'duty'. Violet herself is no better prepared for the marriage-bed: she has been well briefed by the traditional gang of married women to grit her teeth during the whole grisly ordeal and remember that this is the penalty a woman must pay for security. The last thing on earth she should do is to enjoy the experience; any signs of pleasure are strictly taboo and as for actual enjoyment—it's dirty!

After a discussion between the two distraught sets of parents, which is the most entertaining part of the play, the couple finally make it—much to everyone's relief. Apart from the fact that the *mores* of these people are totally alien, the play deals sympathetically and quite wisely with a problem which must occur quite often (after all, sex is an emotion, and emotions are hard to time). It is also entertaining—very funny at times—and does put forward the idea—still quite revolutionary in the British theatre—that sex can be enjoyable.

The production by Josephine Wilson is adequate, even if the scenery does move at the pace of the last day of Aldermaston, and the acting is good—Bernard Miles, for once, does not play Bernard Miles. In the absence from London of any good theatre by English playwrights (with Arnold Wesker working out his cultural Messianism at Centre 42 and a silent Harold Pinter), a visit to the "Mermaid" is not an evening wasted.

DIANA SHELLEY.

'FREEDOM' & VIOLENCE

CONTROVERSY

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This is a very inadequate description of the course of fear and in fact it is nothing more than the working out of an idea that occurred to me. But what I want to come to eventually is the suggestion that the editorial writer's (March 9) conclusion that "war in our time is the result of rival capitalist interests being unable to solve their differences" comes not so close to the

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I regard the system as significant in that it is one expression of the feeling that is perhaps, as Freud suggested, the very instinct of life: the feeling of fear, that Karen Horney described as the feeling of being "small, insignificant, helpless, endangered, in a world that is out to abuse, cheat, attack, humiliate, betray, envy . . . " One expression of this feeling is to become oppressed by the impossibility of living (*i.e.*, in the last analysis, of dying), and in the world this takes the shape of a need to hate and defend oneself against one's fellow men: this is the rationale of the system, of all the systems among which capitalism and state-capitalism and international capitalism compete for the crown of being the most sophisticated. We all know the susceptibility of people to this expression of fear: we all know that people are cowardly, escapist, ruled by formulas cultured and otherwise. How are we to refute the claims of the system, on the grounds that it takes this into account, to be practical, to be the only answer? Recapitulating what has been said, our (anarchist-pacifist) conclusion is; I think: Yes, the system is right as far as it goes, but it is wrong in that it only goes as far as it goes. (Which I pride myself is almost worthy of a Zen-Buddhist master). Let us (intellectually) take the offensive: man is not merely what he is, man is more than what he is, man is all that he is capable of. And this above all he is capable of, he is able out of this feeling of fear to create love: in fear of all things, it is love alone rooted in this fear that can express this fear most fully and deeply, it is love first and foremost of those whom we fear most absolutely—our fellow men. In order that we may love

truly, we must not merely be fearful, we must know that we are fearful: and under the system we are benevolently but, I think, unkindly allowed to deny our fear. And thus in our fear of the Russians, Communism, Americans, the masses, Fascists, niggers, God, the workers the capitalists, what you will, we are merely hiding from—protecting—our fear of life and of the other . . .

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Continued on page 4

FREEDOM

March 23 1963 Vol 24 No 10

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER

Continued from page 1

Some readers, only those, we hope, who are not yet familiar with the ideas anarchists defend, may turn round and point to the fact that FREEDOM, from *Out of this World, t*hrough *Book-* and *Art Gallery-* Reviews to *Industrial Notes* and *Editorials* is a long catalogue of the struggle between Man, of Man's inhumanity to Man. In what respect then does FREEDOM differ in its emphasis compared with the organs of mass-communications?

Elsewhere in this issue we publish a piece, again from the *Daily Herald,* "Has this boy waited two years to die", which we request you to read now if you have not already done so, because we shall use it to illustrate our reply.

★

ANARCHISTS are unconditionally opposed to authority (that is, the "power, right, to enforce obedience") because on the one hand it prevents the individual from developing and expressing his/her personality to the full, and on the other creates a privileged social and/or economic class, or élite, which in due course will be obliged to defend its privileges by the lash or the Law. And even the Law is only "sacrosanct" when its rulings have the policeman, the gaoler and the hangman ready and waiting to execute them.

In society today no ruling class can rule secure with the bludgeon alone, if only on economic grounds: that the police state is a most *uneconomic* way of maintaining a privileged class; as the British learned in India and Kenya, the French in Algeria, Khrushchev and his pals in Russia, the Belgians in the Congo and as Franco it seems is just beginning to learn in Spain. (Verwoerd and his Africaaner cronies have still to learn it the really hard way!) The unequal society can only be maintained and perpetuated in the long term, by general *consent;* by conditioning people to believe themselves either superior *or in-*

that bad men can make and implement good, just, laws; whereas we maintain that power over the lives of others corrupts all who wield it.

The anti-social behaviour of the two people who refused to help the injured serviceman is deplorable but not endemic; the sadism of the administrators of the Law cannot be prevented. It is not just Georgia, but every American State and every government in the world that outrage human feelings of decency and justice. (Did anyone listen to the play "The Professionals" last Monday?)

★

IT was for this reason that in our opening paragraph we welcomed the activities of hundreds of groups in connection with the Freedom from Hunger Campaign but regretted that the initiative had been taken by governments. For governments stand for privilege, division, inequality; Freedom from Hunger suggests that Mankind is One, that all living human beings have a right to the necessities of life. And if one hopes to implement this right it will be in spite of governments and the privileged classes and not by supporting their purely symbolic campaigns. Of all papers the *Sunday Telegraph* while supporting the "cause" points to the insufficiency of trying to solve world hunger by "private generosity". They believe the need is for "lavish public investment" in the underdeveloped terrtories if the "difficulties" can be surmounted. But the danger is that "this campaign like so many before it, will do more to salve the conscience of the rich than fill the bellies of the poor". And to such surprising frankness from an unexpected source we would add our own fears that not only will such campaigns never even scratch the problem of hunger and misery but are used by governments to distract attention from their basic causes.

For even if funds were available to buy up all the food surpluses in the United States and elsewhere and

The Greater th

AT a cost estimated at £1,200, *The Evening Standard* of March 15th carried an advertisement by the editors, staff and printers of *Private Eye,* saying "We the undersigned wish to withdraw unreservedly the false allegations we made and implied against Sir Winston and Mr. Randolph Churchill and the latter's research assistance in the issue of *Private Eye* of February 8th.". . . .

Theodore Roosevelt wrote in 1906, "I dislike the father [Randolph] and dislike the son [Winston] . . . both possess much levity, lack of sobriety, lack of permanent principle and an inordinate zest for that cheap form of admiration which is given to notoriety". . . .

A. G. Gardiner wrote in 1916: "Keep your eye on Churchill" should be the watchword of these days. Remember he is a soldier first, last, and always. He will write his name big on our future. Let us take care he does not write it in blood.". . . .

In 1900 Winston Churchill was returned as a Tory candidate for Oldham, Lancs. He attacked the War Ministry " . . . we shall make a fatal bargain if we allow the moral force which this country has so long exerted to become diminished, or perhaps destroyed, for the sake of the costly, trumpery, dangerous military playthings on which the Secretary of State for War has set his heart." A few days later he crossed the floor of the House to the Liberal benches. . . .

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ANARCHISTS are unconditionally opposed to authority (that is, the "power, right, to enforce obedience") because on the one hand it prevents the individual from developing and expressing his/her personality to the full, and on the other creates a privileged social and/or economic class, or élite, which in due course will be obliged to defend its privileges by the lash or the Law. And even the Law is only "sacrosanct" when its rulings have the policeman, the gaoler and the hangman ready and waiting to execute them.

In society today no ruling class can rule secure with the bludgeon alone, if only on economic grounds: that the police state is a most *uneconomic* way of maintaining a privileged class; as the British learned in India and Kenya, the French in Algeria, Khrushchev and his pals in Russia, the Belgians in the Congo and as Franco it seems is just beginning to learn in Spain. (Verwoerd and his Africaaner cronies have still to learn it the really hard way!) The unequal society can only be maintained and perpetuated in the long term, by general *consent;* by conditioning people to believe themselves either superior *or inferior* to their fellow beings; by maintaining economic and social differentials to consolidate this belief, while at the same time broadening the privileged class, so that an ever larger number of people will have a stake in maintaining the *status quo.*

It is against this "general consent" that the anarchists direct their propaganda because unless people can be persuaded by argument and the facts of life to appreciate, and feel that *what exists is only what we find,* not necessarily what should be or what we want; and that it will never be changed unless we challenge the *status quo,* and the civil service and the governments that implement it, with defiance and an alternative, we are doomed to defeat. To being crushed by a machine oiled by experience in the sordid business of ruling and, as is the "nature" of machines, unmoved by the needs of humanity.

FREEDOM is concerned with exposing the basic inhumanity of government of man by man and defending the *basic* reasonableness and humanity of human beings; and not because we believe Man to be fundamentally good. Mass communications are concerned with maintaining the concept, which it shares with the Christian Churches, that Man is fundamentally bad and must therefore be kept in check by rules and the threat of punishment. They, by some illogical argument presume

opening paragraph we welcomed the activities of hundreds of groups in connection with the Freedom from Hunger Campaign but regretted that the initiative had been taken by governments. For governments stand for privilege, division, inequality; Freedom from Hunger suggests that Mankind is One, that all living human beings have a right to the necessities of life. And if one hopes to implement this right it will be in spite of governments and the privileged classes and not by supporting their purely symbolic campaigns. Of all papers the *Sunday Telegraph* while supporting the "cause" points to the insufficiency of trying to solve world hunger by "private generosity". They believe the need is for "lavish public investment" in the underdeveloped terrtories if the "difficulties" can be surmounted. But the danger is that "this campaign like so many before it, will do more to salve the conscience of the rich than fill the bellies of the poor". And to such surprising frankness from an unexpected source we would add our own fears that not only will such campaigns never even scratch the problem of hunger and misery but are used by governments to distract attention from their basic causes.

For even if funds were available to buy up all the food surpluses in the United States and elsewhere and distribute them among the hungry people of the world, the reality would have to be faced the following year that the basic question, assuming that distribution is assured, is that *world production of food today is insufficient to adequately feed the world's population.* We shall believe in the good intentions of governments when their Campaigns for Freedom from Hunger are matched by just one thing: that all the "have" countries make full use of all their land to increase food production; that where the people of a country will not "return to the land" then peasants from hungry nations should be allowed to settle on the unoccupied land.

But this will never happen by government edict, nor by offering up prayers to the Almighty, nor by sticking symbolic paper-ears-of-wheat in the ground. The hungry people of the world have a right to the land. Sooner or later their demands will be pressed. Cuba and China for the hungry millions of Latin and Central America and of the Far East are the symbols of that demand for the right to live. It is not the military threat of Cuba that America fears, any more than Russia is intimidated by China's military might. It is the armies of the hungry, half the world's present population, whose despair may lead them to the kind of action which could shatter the solid Empires of West and East.

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Aldermaston—1963

Again this year we shall be selling FREEDOM and ANARCHY during the Easter march from Aldermaston to London. To cover such a vast assembly adequately we need a large number of sellers. Will volunteers please get in touch with us at FREEDOM PRESS as soon as possible, letting us know whether supplies should be sent or whether they will collect at Aldermaston and *en route.*

The Greater the Truth...

AT a cost estimated at £1,200, *The Evening Standard* of March 15th carried an advertisement by the editors, staff and printers of *Private Eye,* saying "We the undersigned wish to withdraw unreservedly the false allegations we made and implied against Sir Winston and Mr. Randolph Churchill and the latter's research assistance in the issue of *Private Eye* of February 8th.". . . .

Theodore Roosevelt wrote in 1906, "I dislike the father [Randolph] and dislike the son [Winston] . . . both possess much levity, lack of sobriety, lack of permanent principle and an inordinate zest for that cheap form of admiration which is given to notoriety". . . .

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"When Mr. Churchill hurried across the Channel to encourage the Belgian authorities to hold on to Antwerp until relief should arrive, he was so impressed with the urgency and importance of the situation that on the 4th October he cabled the Prime Minister . . . 'If it is thought by H.M. Government that I can be of service here, I am willing to resign my office and undertake command'." . . . .

Politicians and the War,
Lord Beaverbrook (1928).

"A couple of Reservist battalions blundered over the Dutch frontier and were interned. Eight or nine hundred men were taken prisoner and 138 wounded. Fifty men and seven officers lost their lives."

Winston Churchill in War and Peace,
Emrys Hughes.

"Half a million men had been sent to the Dardanelles 'Of this total 43,000 British officers and men had been killed, taken prisoner or posted as missing, or died of disease. The British casualties, including those of evacuated sick, had amounted to 205,000, those of the French to 47,000'."

(*ibid*).

"You must expect loss both by land and sea, but the fleet you are employing is your surplus fleet after all your needs have been provided for. . . . There never was a great subsidiary operation of war which a more complete harmony of strategic, political and economic advantages has combined, or which stood in truer relation to the main decision which is in the central theatre. Through the Narrows of the Dardanelles, and across the ridges of the Gallipoli peninsular, lies some of the shortest paths to triumphant peace."

Speech by Winston Churchill,
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"If I had been an Italian, I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you from the start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism."

Winston Churchill's message to Mussolini, after a visit to Rome, January 21st, 1927. (*Times* report).

One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our Country were defeated I hope we should find a champion as admirable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations.

Great Contemporaries,
Winston Churchill (1935).

Everyone can see how Communism rots the soul of a nation; how it makes it abject and hungry in peace and proves it base and abominable in war.

Broadcast by Winston Churchill on Russo-Finnish War, 20/1/40.

I assure the House I have a solid belief in the wisdom and good faith of this outstanding man.

Winston Churchill on Stalin, (House of Commons, 12/11/42).

Here I am in the came post as twenty-five years ago. Rough times lie ahead. . .
Speech by Winston Churchill, 1/10/39.

Telegraph, Aug. 30th, 1911. "Welsh Riots":

"The inquest on the six persons who were killed during the riots at Llanelly on Sunday, Aug. 19th. . . . Two of the victims were killed by the fire of the soldiers . . . The four others were killed by the explosion in a railway truck . . . The Coroner, in summing up, said if there was a tumultuous assemblage of the people acting riotously, and every ordinary means had been taken to calm them, unquestionably the firing was justifiable. It was immaterial whether these young men were rioters, or had thrown any stones or not. They were in the direction from which the stones came, and as there was no evidence that they actually threw stones it was most unfortunate that they were present. . . .

I have not become the King's first Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

Speech by Winston Churchill, *Lord Mayor's Day Luncheon,* November 10th, 1942.

"All Geman ships in the Skaggerak and the Kattegat will be sunk* and by night all ships will be sunk as opportunity serves." Speech by Winston Churchill, House of Commons, 11/4/40. Footnote by Randolph Churchill. **i.e.* "liable to be sunk." Footnote by J.R., "They were not sunk."

JACK ROBINSON,
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"Bruce," says Ralph Gleason, on the sleeve of one of Bruce's LP's, "has opened the door to a reconsideration of everything in our society except the basic truths of love, and beauty, and honesty, and truth itself. He is in essence attacking the whole of our society . . . in other words he is the child who says the Emperor has no clothes". Typical of Bruce's attitude to the sickness of civilisation were his vicious attacks on the anti-life nature of western society, the idea, seen at its best (or rather worst) in our attitude to sex, that anything pleasurable should be regarded as sinful if not actually banned by the government. On this attitude he based some brilliant demolitions of contemporary mores, like our toleration of cancer-causing cigarettes and cirrhosis-causing alcohol while at the same time forbidding a provenly harmless substance like marahuana.

To anyone who has seen, as I have, the worst products of the American paperback output, the typing of Lennie Bruce as a sick comedian is yet another indication that the revising of priorities in our civilisation is well overdue. Bruce may have been obscene, he was never pornographic and it is the latter that is harmful and that society encourages, as Henry Miller long ago pointed out. To a heckling audience at the "Establishment" one night Bruce said, "You people, having dutifully read the newspapers, are calling me a sick comedian. Yet in this country, and my own, children can see, in the cinema, as many beatings up as they can stomach, but to show anything that approaches the act of love would bring forth the anger of the righteous. Who is really sick, you or me? Your very obscenities betray your sickness. The strongest thing you can say to someone you want to get rid of is "Fuck off, Mister." Yet this word refers to an act that you perform with someone you love."

Lennie Bruce belongs in the same company as Kenneth Patchen, Bernard Wolfe, Henry Miller and H. L. Mencken in that someone who has heard him work can never again take quite the same view of the world. What effect the Illinois sentence will have on his ability to work in other states I do not know but Chicago has now allied itself with Dayton, Tennessee, and Boston, Mass. The trial of Lennie Bruce may not have achieved the publicity that the Tennessee "monkey trial" managed to stir up but it is no less important. As H. L. Mencken once said, "Any questioning of the moral ideas that prevail . . . is received with the utmost hostility. To attempt such an enterprise is to disturb the peace—and the disturber of the peace—in the national view, quickly passes over into the downright criminal". Lennie Bruce manages not only to question the moral ideas prevailing . . he makes other people question them too . . . and that the authorities cannot forgive. It is for this reason, and for his persistent exposures of legal chicanery, that he has been declared a criminal. After all, one would hardly think a society that produces looks like *Mental Ward Nympho*, was likely to put a comedian in jail for saying 'fuck'.

J. M. PILGRIM.

Aldermaston—1963

Again this year we shall be selling FREEDOM and ANARCHY during the Easter march from Aldermaston to London. To cover such a vast assembly adequately we need a large number of sellers. Will volunteers please get in touch with us at FREEDOM PRESS as soon as possible, letting us know whether supplies should be sent or whether they will collect at Aldermaston and *en route*.

Back to Bakunin ?

SIR,

Does the writer of last week's leader "Big *versus* Bigger Business", want to start a "Back to Bakunin movement", and see anarchism become once again synonymous with "abortive revolution"?

I was astonished to see re-appear in the pages of FREEDOM the old argument that nothing can be achieved without recourse to violence. Such new blood as has come into the anarchist movement in recent years has come in *via* the peace movement, and FREEDOM's apparent attempt to insult and repudiate these converts to the anarchist cause lends support to the theory that has been increasingly promulgated of late; that the hard core of the anarchist movement is concerned mainly with remaining members of a small exclusive club.

There is a tendency among critics of a certain type to regard anything that becomes popular as bad. The odd tone of your leader and the attack on "pacifist anarchists" suggests that FREEDOM's leader writer is becoming a little worried by the increasing popularity of anarchism and has decided the time has come to antagonise a section of the movement, in order to retain the exclusive nature of "the club".

It would appear that it is your leader writer rather than the pacifists who are "woolly-headed", for surely there is a contradiction between the paragraph which says "Nothing is achieved without being prepared to fight . . . not with reason but with power", and that which says "no anarchist has suggested an anarchist society can be brought about by force"? I'm glad about that last bit. I was wondering how to set about *forcing* people to accept freedom.

If the issue that is to be sold on the Aldermaston march contains the same sort of 'thinking' then FREEDOM sellers will be at one with the *Daily Worker* sellers and all the rest of the "left wing Fascists who hang around the fringes of the march with literature advocating violence as a means of salvation.

JOHN M. PILGRIM.

[Have the anarchists been converted to pacifism, or the pacifists to anarchism? —EDITORS].

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Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the **Selections** is available to readers of **FREEDOM** at 5/6 post free.

BAKUNIN

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Productivity

DEAR EDITORS,

Francis Ellingham ("Against Higher Productivity", March 9), starts by saying I offered a travesty of his argument, but then goes on to repeat the same argument, in effect. He states "what I object to is *high* productivity (by modern standards), which necessitates a mass-society and is thus anti-libertarian? He then asks me to explain how high productivity might be attained under anarchism—pointing to a pre-supposition that it must first be lost in achieving anarchism. This is, in any case, asking a bit much, in the space of a letter to FREEDOM, which is precisely why I suggested he should start by reading Lewis Mumford: *not* as an infallible 'authority', but as an author to be read critically—and, one would hope, sympathetically—who presents more-or-less the extended argument which is required to present such a case (or rather, how to achieve anarchism by means, in part, of fully developed automation-.

I, too, do not believe 'high productivity', American style, to be necessarily desirable at all costs; nor, evaluated in terms of physical and human realities in place of financial fictions, is this kind of productivity in fact so high. In a rational anarchist society, and in more 'real' terms, I believe it could, with ease, be far outstripped. The actual level of production would probably settle somewhere between present American and European levels, but with a big difference in the types and quality of products.

Francis' vision of an anarchist society is apparently one of small communities, each so fearful of dependence on any other group in any way that they are not prepared to organise and co-operate for the sake of efficient satisfaction of needs. In such a group, each individual would then be dependent upon the group itself. This is not compatible with the idea of anarchism and *individual* autonomy. This can much more realistically be hoped for in an 'automated' society, in which the basic physical needs of the whole community could be met by complex, efficient machines whose care would be the pride of a few, highly skilled workers. This alone would permit the full development of the diversified society which must be typical of applied anarchism.

The values of this capitalist society are so tangled and unreal that it is no surprise to find its tools blamed for the way they are misapplied, and when Francis claims that "Automation pays only in a mass society", he shows a failure to understand what an unreal conception 'paying' is, unless he really means "is not physically worthwhile—that its products could be produced more easily, or better, in greater quantity, or more congenially, without using automated processes"—in which case, no general answer is possible; in each single case, the choice must be made, and is dependent upon a subjective balancing of most of the factors involved; but the further automation is developed, the greater its potential benefits, and Francis also fails to appreciate the possibility of increasingly *diversified* 'mass-production' to meet individual needs with products of the highest quality, which the full development of the techniques of automation would make possible, while at the same time giving the leisure which would permit the re-development of hand-crafts, undertaken for their own sake.

It is to the community's general interest to provide and equip the research and training establishments required to improve our understanding and control over our physical environment, and a modern community can well 'afford' the cost. The fact that under capitalism ('eastern' and 'western') a large part of this research is misdirected, destructive and wasteful is no argument against research itself. We have, fortunately, outlived the mediaeval religious ban on it, and are unlikely to fall back in that respect. Research to find better ways of determining and satisfying people's real needs does, happily, take place under capitalism, even though more is directed at persu
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'Freedom' and Violence

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out being prepared to fight . . . not with reason but with power", and that which says "no anarchist has suggested an anarchist society can be brought about by force"? I'm glad about that last bit. I was wondering how to set about *forcing* people to accept freedom.

If the issue that is to be sold on the Aldermaston march contains the same sort of 'thinking' then FREEDOM sellers will be at one with the *Daily Worker* sellers and all the rest of the "left wing Fascists who hang around the fringes of the march with literature advocating violence as a means of salvation.

JOHN M. PILGRIM.

[Have the anarchists been converted to pacifism, or the pacifists to anarchism? —EDITORS].

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
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Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
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ally—and, one would hope, sympathetically—who presents more-or-less the extended argument which is required to present such a case (or rather, how to achieve anarchism by means, in part, of fully developed automation-.

I, too, do not believe 'high productivity', American style, to be necessarily desirable at all costs; nor, evaluated in terms of physical and human realities in place of financial fictions, is this kind of productivity in fact so high. In a rational anarchist society, and in more 'real' terms, I believe it could, with ease, be far outstripped. The actual level of production would probably settle somewhere between present American and European levels, but with a big difference in the types and quality of products.

Francis' vision of an anarchist society is apparently one of small communities, each so fearful of dependence

full development of the techniques of automation would make possible, while at the same time giving the leisure which would permit the re-development of hand-crafts, undertaken for their own sake.

It is to the community's general interest to provide and equip the research and training establishments required to improve our understanding and control over our physical environment, and a modern community can well 'afford' the cost. The fact that under capitalism ('eastern' and 'western') a large part of this research is misdirected, destructive and wasteful is no argument against research itself. We have, fortunately, outlived the mediaeval religious ban on it, and are unlikely to fall back in that respect. Research to find better ways of determining and satisfying people's real needs does, happily, take place under capitalism, even though more is

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Which brings me to FREEDOM's persistent defence of violence, or, shall we say, of the necessity to oppose power with power should it become necessary? But I think the distinction is meaningless. When it comes to violence, the question of who started it is irrelevant, as all those who are acquainted with young children know—or even, merely, those who have been young children. (And who hasn't?). For the preparedness to use violence is in the end psychologically no different from the use of violence. Quite simply, violence is the alternative to loving our fellow men, and loving our fellow men means loving all our fellow men. And power, which is the efficient organization of violence, is the alternative to freedom, and I suggest that freedom is the only way in which man can meet man as man and not as stereotype. (The better the mind, the more numerous and ingenious the stereotypes). I am sure that the editors of FREEDOM would endorse my preference of freedom to violence as ultimately desirable, but—"it isn't practicable, especially just now!" Power, they say (preparatory to making a classic Marxist defence of the "dynamic" class struggle), can only be overthrown by power. This I do not deny. But once power has been overthrown by power the power that overthrew it, and not freedom, remains. At this point I would like to refer the editorial writers of FREEDOM of the account given by Dr. Bettelheim (who I am sure would not be very ready to accept the rest of my argument) of the attempts made by the Jews in the concentration camps to alleviate some of the worst effects of the SS methods by organizing themselves in various ways: in a short footnote he illuminatingly puts the problem of defending freedom against power by the opposition of other power—he points out that the price is the loss of that

freedom: "To set power against power just will not lead to freedom; setting inner freedom against external power might." (*The informed heart* Thames & Hudson, 1962, p.178n—see, in particular, the two chapters on Behaviour in Extreme Situations). It is extraordinary that the editorial writers bring the same argument to bear on the love-and-reason pacifists as has been brought so often against the anarchists, most recently in the columns of FREEDOM by John Papworth: love and reason, say the editors, has never worked, the oppressors just have not listened. They are so right! And therefore, they conclude, we must be prepared to use power, *i.e.*

SLIPPING BADLY!

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Weeks 1—10 ...	279		
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		295	
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Weeks 1—10 (84)	87		
Week 11 (7)	8		
		95	
			390
		DEFICIT	£380

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...of an anarchist ...ly one of small com... ...fearful of dependence on any other group in any way that they are not prepared to organise and co-operate for the sake of efficient satisfaction of needs. In such a group, each individual would then be dependent upon the group itself. This is not compatible with the idea of anarchism and *individual* autonomy. This can much more realistically be hoped for in an 'automated' society, in which the basic physical needs of the whole community could be met by complex, efficient machines whose care would be the pride of a few, highly skilled workers. This alone would permit the full development of the diversified society which must be typical of applied anarchism.

The values of this capitalist society are so tangled and unreal that it is no surprise to find its tools blamed for the way they are misapplied, and when Francis claims that "Automation pays only in a mass society", he shows a failure to understand what an unreal conception 'paying' is, unless he really means "is not physically worthwhile—that its products could be produced more easily, or better, in greater quantity, or more congenially, without using automated processes"—in which case, no general answer is possible; in each single case, the choice must be made, and is dependent upon a subjective balancing of most of the factors involved; but the further automation is developed, the greater its potential benefits, and Francis also fails to appreciate the possibility of increasingly *diversified* 'mass-production' to meet individual needs with products of the highest quality, which the full development of the techniques of automation would make possible, while at the same time giving the leisure which would permit the re-development of hand-crafts, undertaken for their own sake.

It is to the community's general interest to provide and equip the research and training establishments required to improve our understanding and control over our physical environment, and a modern community can well 'afford' the cost. The fact that under capitalism ('eastern' and 'western') a large part of this research is misdirected, destructive and wasteful is no argument against research itself. We have, fortunately, outlived the mediaeval religious ban on it, and are unlikely to fall back in that respect. Research to find better ways of determining and satisfying people's real needs does, happily, take place under capitalism, even though more is directed at persuading them to want this or that which is more convenient or 'profitable' to the manufacturer. The techniques are all available, or ready for development. Even now, where adequate money is available to give effective backing to a demand, most demands are fairly well met, though capitalism is not organised for that purpose; it is will within man's capacity to reorganise to meet real human needs, *given the recognition of the need for such a change* by the community in general, and those in key places in particular; and it is people with Francis' outlook, no less than the diehard capitalist, who are helping to delay such recognition by further confusion of the issues.

A basic fact of the present situation, historically unprecedented, is that we now have the knowledge and skill to meet, more than adequately, the physical needs of humanity, without exploitation of one class by another. Yet nearly everyone, in all classes of society, is riddled with a puritanical, moralistic attitude to work, and cannot conceive of a free society in which all the necessary work could be accomplished as a pleasurable activity, by those who freely choose to engage it it, either for its own sake, or from the recognition of its social value; in which, in fact, work might become almost a (let us hope, the only) 'prestige symbol'. This possibility would be nullified by a wholesale rejection of modern technology. To paraphrase Francis, you cannot *have* anarchism, or a free world, without large-scale production, simply because the vast majority of people are sane enough not to give up their physical wealth, or their hopes of it, in the vain hope of achieving freedom by a contrived return to the state of ignorance and discomfort from which countless generations of our ancestors have struggled to escape. Even if I thought this desirable, I see no hope at all of achieving an anarchist world on the model Francis depicts, and appears to believe axiomatic. But it is eminently possible (*not* inevitable), given the extension of a number of developments now taking place within and despite the present capitalist society, that an anarchist world of abundance may be brought about through, in part, the agency of automation, if the reactionary forces can be held in check, or re-directed. Does Francis read ANARCHY?

Yours,

London, Mar. 10. BRIAN LESLIE.

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LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Sundays at 7.30 p.m. (until April 7th).

MAR 24 Brian Hart: **Nestor Makhno**

MAR 31 Dennis Gould: **Pierre-Ceresole: International Revolutionary**

APR 7 Peter Lumsden: **The Catholic Worker**

APR 14 No meeting: **Constitutional Exercise—Aldermaston.**

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.
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Sheaves of whom are ripe to come
To destruction's harvest home:
Men must reap the things they sow,
Force from force must ever flow,
Or worse; but 'tis a bitter woe
That love or reason cannot change
The despot's rage, the slave's revenge.

Yours fraternally in the belief in the brotherhood of man,

MARTIN SMALL.

SLIPPING BADLY!

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The Anarchist Weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the last in each month.
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